



On april, 11 the trial against six prisoners from the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT (BEWEGUNG 2. JUNI) did start in Berlin. The Berlin justice, wanting to maintain the interests of the westgerman state, this time undertook to prove - in a different way from the trial against the RED ARMY FRACTION (RAF) in Stuttgart-Stammheim - an, as much as possible, smooth trial with as little as possible spectacular events and - in the consequence - little public interest. While the trial of Stammheim could only be finished by abolishing the constitutionally guaranteed basic rights, and by inventing special laws, and while two of the five defendants (Holger Meins and Ulrike Meinhof) had been killed because of tactical reasons during the trial, the Berlin trial should prove that the FRG is still very well able to cope on a judicial level with the problem of "terrorism", that is to say, with the existance of acting urban-guerilla groups.

After till now 3 months of trial we have to state: the plan did fail.

While they, using a laboriously constructed charge-sheet, try to blame 6 prisoners, who are still unbroken after 3 years of isolation detention, for a successful liberation of prisoners - the president of the Berlin christ-democrats Peter Lorenz had been kidnapped and then been exchanged for 5 prisoners - a commando frees one of the defendants - Till Meyer - right out of the, at that time, "jailbreak safest prison of Europe" (Senator of Justice Baumann) and succeed in getting away abroad, in spite of all the blocked frontiers.

The FRG state forces define their fundamental opposition, like for example the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT, to be some psychopathic killers and declare the women of these groups to be parricides, who are causelessly spreading "terror and dismay".

We want to contrast that and allow an explanation with the authentic story, with the political practise and the political aims of this social revolutionary movement.

We publish two statements [redacted] and attach a (not complete) chronicle, which explains the history of this group in a context. The TUNIX-Statement was written by 4 comrades of the 2nd-OF-JUNE, who have splitted off (RGO).
"Contradictions have to be discussed and unravelled." (2nd-OF-JUNE)

" WE COME ALL OF US FROM THE 2nd OF JUNE "

The history of the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT is the history of the movement of the students, the workers and the women, rising again in the sixties, which produced, by fighting against the atomic rearmament and against the fellowship of the FRG and the USA during the war in Vietnam, the first traces of an anti-imperialist consciousness.

Formation and practise of the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT are the expression of the further development of the militant part of the, after 1968 dissolving, anti-authority-movement, a protest movement, which was one answer to the first economic recession in the FRG 1966/67,

which the bourgeoisie could only manage by, in fact, abolishing the parliamentary system - the "great coalition" of the christ-democrats and the social-democrats. The other answer was the answer of the imperialist state: the open repression, which shows an increasingly military character, against all the oppositional forces.

So the direct reference of the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT is the date, when, during a demonstration against the visit of the Shah in Westberlin, the student Benno Ohnesorg was shot by the police: the 2nd of june. Since in may, 11th, 1952 in Essen the young worker Philipp Müller had been shot by the police during a demonstration of 30.000 people against the remilitarization of the FRG, Benno was the first, who, in the streets, was murdered by the pigs in the political conflict with this state.

With Benno's death a lot of people realized the fact, that this state starts to use the instruments of armed war, if it can't secure its interests with the parliamentary show business any longer. And as well the law for the national emergency ("Notstandsgesetze"), which is nothing else than the intra-state martial law of a dictatorship, and the rearmament of the police and the army leaded, by the people of the sixties, to the organizing of little autonomous groups, which had more or less precise ideas about the necessity to confront the state terror with an anti-force from below.

The members of these groups came out of the circles of the groups of apprentices, pupils, escaped trustee juveniles and prison-groups; groups which got to feel the repression most obviously in their political conflict with the circumstances, and there fore were sooner able to crasp the "ripeness of the situation".

2. Juni 1967



Benno Ohnesorg murdered by police

14.05.70 A commando frees Andreas Baader out of the jail in Westberlin.

After numberless firebombings etc., this is the first offensive armed action with the aim "Liberation" and there fore the point of crystallization, where from the different guerilla groups are gradually developing.

29.09.70 With three bank hold-ups, synchronous carried out, the RED ARMY FRACTION is proclaiming itself.

July 71 Two fighters of the later 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT - Thomas Weissbecker and Georg von Rauch - can exchange their places during a trial. One is discharged, but it is the other, who is going away, who has got four years.

04.12.71 Georg von Rauch is shot by the detective force and the state security service at his arrest in Westberlin, while he is standing at a wall with hold up hands.

febr.72 For solidarity with the liberation war of the people of Northern Ireland the British Yacht-Club in Westberlin is bombed. Unintentionally a boat-builder is killed.

02.03.72 Thomas Weissbecker is shot from an ambush by a police special commando in Augsburg.

29.03.72 Till Meyer is being arrested in Bielefeld after a gunfight with the police.

11.12.72 Till Meyer is being condemned to 3 years because of an "attempted murder of a policeman".

07.07.73 Gabi Kröcher-Tiedemann from the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT is being arrested in Bochum after a gunfight with the pigs.

27.07.73 Bank hold-up in Berlin with 200.000 DM.

aug. 73 Inge Viett from the 2nd-OF-JUNE saws up a window-grate in the Berlin jail and escapes.

20.10.73 Ina Siepmann, who is said to be in connection with the bank hold-up of the 27.07.73, is arrested in Berlin.

13.11.73 Till Meyer escapes from the jail in Castro-Rauxel.

17.12.73 Gabi Kröcher-Tiedemann is being condemned to 8 years because of an "attempted murder of a policeman".

13.02.74 In Berlin beginning of the trial against Verena Becker, Wolfgang Knupe and Willi Räther, because of the attempt against the British Yacht-Club.

05.06.74 Ulrich Schmücker, former member of the 2nd-OF-JUNE is found, shot dead, in the Berlin Grunewald (a forest). A COMMANDO BLACK JUNE of the 2nd-OF-JUNE takes the responsibility in a "communique about betrayal". After Schmücker had been turned round by a state security service agent inside the jail, he tried, after his premature release, to join again the 2nd-OF-JUNE by order of the state security service. But his former comrades became suspicious, questioned him and he confessed. The commando published Schmückers evidences in front of the police and the questioning by his comrades concerning these evidences, and it explained the step to the grave decision for the execution.

aug. 74 In Darmstadt and West-Berlin several people are being arrested, one of them - Jürgen Bodeux - gives evidence after only a short time and he says, that the group had shot Schmücker.

10.09.74 Three men and a woman, passing themselves off for detectives and presenting a falsified search warrant, rob an arms store in Berlin. The police supposes, that the 2nd-OF-JUNE has done it.

26.10.74 Firebombings on the Berlin Supreme Court, the superior court and the inferior court.
As the press reports that in the room of the President of the Supreme Court Drenkmann there was a damage at the rate of some 10 000 DM, the public gets to know, that there taxen have been wasted for the pompous office equipment of the highest Berlin judge.

09.11.74 Holger Meins, fighter from the RAF, dies after 8 weeks of a collective hungerstrike of 43 prisoners against the extermination detention. He has been starved to death according to plan, the transfer to a special hospital has been delayed.
To protest against this murder there are about 50 demonstrations and actions in different towns, as a result 20 demonstrators are being arrested for a short time; in Berlin, Stuttgart, Mannheim and so on, the law-courts are being damaged.

10.11.74 At the attempt to kidnap him, the President of the Supreme Court Drenkmann is being shot in Berlin, when he tries to catch hold of his service pistole.
With a leaflet, that appears in a greater number in Berlin, the 2nd-OF-JUNE asks the people, not to join the public funeral service. The leaflet runs as follows: "The shooting of the highest judge in Berlin is no action against the people - the people does not have to fear the "terrorists". The action against the judge shows, that we defend ourselves, that we no longer helplessly accept the assassination of a comrade, but that we call to account the responsible men. Concerning the Berlin justice scenery the Supreme Court has been prominent with its especially reactionary sentences, decisions and instructions at all times. It is only logical that the President himself did not sit on the judge's seat: which operator does really make his own hands dirty, but has all the same the whole competence in hand!...."

14.11.74 In spite of the day after day propaganda, there are only 15 000 people, who join the funeral service on the John-F. Kennedy-place, though all the public servants and public employees and the employees of private firms had got therefore a day off and though hundred thousands of people had been gathering in former times in front of the town-hall on similar occasions.

27.02.75 In Zehlendorf, a fashionable district of Berlin, Peter Lorenz, President of the Berlin Christ-Democratic Party, is being kidnapped by the 2nd-OF-JUNE.
The demands: the release of 2 demonstrators, which had been arrested after the murder of Holger Meins, and the release of 6 prisoners from the urban guerilla.

03.03.75 Gabi Kröcher-Tiedemann, Verena Becker, Ina Siepmann, Rolf Heißler und Rolf Pohle are being flown away to the People's Republic Jemen. Horst Mahler, former member of the RAF and now supporter of the maoist-KPD had refused his release in a tv-statement and had called up to vote in favour of the KPD.
The 2 demonstrators had been released some days before.

04.03.75 Lorenz is being released uninjured.
Immediately afterwards the expected crackdown of the police, assisted by the military-police of the three allies, starts with the motto "we have a search warrant for the whole of Berlin". Officials from the other federal states and 260 specialists from the BKA (Federal Criminal Office) join in. With undiscribable brutality and recklessness, the pigs - armed with breaking instruments and machine guns - are stamping through living communities, beer-parties, centers for culture and centers for apprentices. 175 adults and 17 children are being arrested, nearly all

of them are being registered by the criminal identification department. Road-blocks are build up, stations and whole districts are being scened. In spite of all that the search remains without a success.

march 75 Shortly after the liberation action a paper of the 2nd-OF-JUNE emerges in Berlin with the big number of copies of 50.000: "The kidnapping in our view". Thereby the 2nd-OF-JUNE tells something about its structure and its policy, about Lorenz (why just he was the aim of the attack) and about his corrupt political "business". At the end the "Lorenz-Song" is published with notes.

april 75 Gerald Klöpper and Ronald Fritzsche are being arrested because of "support of the Lorenz-kidnapping".

09.05.75 Werner Sauber is being shot by the police at a road-checking. Though he was searched for, he had been working in a factory under a fake name for a year. The 2nd-OF-JUNE explained in a leaflet concerning the death of "our comrade Werner Sauber": "We know, that the police is not our main enemy, but the capitalism, its state, the profiteering which destroys more or less the life of all of us. But we know as well, that it is the task of the police to catch us, alive or dead...! We get out of the way of the police, because it is not our aim, to kill them. But everybody knows that they are chasing us, not we them. But if we are attacked than we fight!..."

06.06.75 Till Meyer is being wounded and arrested by a "Commando for systematic investigation" in Berlin.

30. and 31.07.75 At two bank hold-ups in Berlin candy and leaflets with the "economic-trend program of the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT" are being distributed among the employees and the customers.

09.09.75 Inge Vieth, Ralf Reinders and Juliane Plambeck are being arrested in Berlin.

13.09.75 Fritz Teufel and Gabriele Rollnick are being arrested in Berlin.

jan. 76 The 2nd-OF-JUNE puts a leaflet in circulation, which un-masks Bommi Baumann, a former member of the movement, to be a liar and a businessman, who wants to justify by his pretendedly in the underground written book, that he gave up the fight. The bustle, which certain "left" publishers and magazines were making for the book "How everything started" was a "real campaign against the forces from below..."

06.02.76 In Berlin the trial against Wolfgang Strüken, Sönke Löffler, Wolfgang Wesslau, Anette von Wedel and Ilse Jandt, as well as against the "chief-witness" Jürgen Bodeux because of the shooting of the agent Schmücker is beginning.

04.03.76 In Berlin the charge-sheet against 10 "supporters", who's identity cards had been found with members of the 2nd-OF-JUNE, becomes known. Seven of them are under detention.

26.03.76 Eberhard Dreher, who was working as a printer in the federal printery, is being arrested because of "supporting the 2nd-OF-JUNE".

22.06.76 In the Schmücker-trial Ilse Jandt is being condemned to life sentence, Wesslau gets 8 years, Strüken and Bodeux five years each, Löffler and von Wedel four years each.

29.06.76 A commando of the PFLP is kidnapping a French airbus-plane with mainly Israelite passengers. From Athens they steer the plane to Entebbe/Uganda and demand the release of 53 prisoners, among them 7 Germans: Werner Hoppe, Jan-Carl Raspe, Ingrid Schubert, Petra Krause (then imprisoned in Switzerland) and Inge Vieth, Ralf Reinders and Fritz Teufel of the 2nd-OF-JUNE. Israel, which shall release most of the prisoners, seems to accept the demand, but in fact prepares a raid in spite of the international law, on the airport of Entebbe. During the carrying out the guerilla-commando, some hostages and a lot of Ugandan soldiers are being shot by the Israelites. The Israelites escape with the surviving hostages in two military planes by Kenia to Israel. Chief of the German "GSG 9" (the "famous" anti-guerilla-squad), Wegener, has been hurt at the hip when he was actively participating in the action. After the action the PFLP declared in Beirut, that two "German comrades" from the "Revolutionary Cells" belonged to the guerilla commando. Their names are given as "Machmud" and "Halima". The PFLP accuses Bonn of having collaborated with Israel.

07.07.76 Four women - Juliane Plambeck, Inge Vieth, Gabriele Rollnick, Monika Berberich - succeed in escaping from the women's jail in Berlin. After the merry-making concerning Entebbe the FRG - press is writing about "consternation" concerning the successful liberation action.

july 76 The Berlin Senator of Justice Hermann Oxfort resigns because of the jailbreak of the four women.

12.07.76 The trial against Eberhard Dreher is beginning.

21.07.76 Rolf Pohle is being arrested in Athens. Masked as tourists German BKA-searchers had traced him out. On the same day in Berlin Monika Berberich is being arrested again in the street.

01.10.76 Greece extradites Rolf Pohle to the FRG, after Schmidt had threatened the President Karamanlis in a personal letter with "heavy consequences" (of economic nature) in case of the non-extradition. A lower court had acknowledged Pohle's "crimes" as being political during the extradition proceedings.

26.01.77 On a teach-in of the Red Help Westberlin concerning the trial against Siepert/Doemeland a recording tape is being played, where one of the six imprisoned comrades of the 2nd-OF-JUNE gives a declaration concerning that trial and requests solidarity for the two women.

27.01.77 Begin of the trial against Siepert and Doemeland because of "supporting the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT". The aim of the state security service in this trial is to declare the 2nd-OF-JUNE a "criminal union" in a sort of preliminary sentence trial, before the "Lorenz/Drenkmann-trial" is beginning.

28.01.77 On a pretext Fritz Teufel is guided into a room of the Moabit jail, where he is being waited for by a bruiser-group. His clothes are being changed under assault and

- battery, his beard and his hair is being cut. The whole action is being filmed and photographed for "investigation purposes".
- 02.02.77 The advocates Dethloff and Elfferding are being excluded from the trial against Teufel and the others, because they had appeared for other political prisoners before.
- 09.02.77 The bureau of the advocates Elfferding and Lieder, who are both appearing for prisoners of the 2nd-OF-JUNE is being screened by the state security service.
- 15.02.77 In the Moabit jail six prisoners from the 2nd-OF-JUNE are first being provoked by the guards and then given the works and partly seriously hurt with the assistance of some dozens of pigs.
- 16.02.77 Once more screening of the Elfferding bureau and the private lodgings of the advocates and their employees because of the "suspicion of the founding of a criminal union".
- 01.04.77 Norbert Kröcher and Manfred Adomeit are being arrested together with about 30 Swedes, Latin-Americans and an Englishman during a all-out action. Kröcher is said to be in connection with the Lorenz-kidnapping.
- 05.04.77 The prisoners of the 2nd-OF-JUNE take part in the fourth collective hungerstrike of the prisoners of the RAF. The at first 35 prisoners are soon being joined by more prisoners inside and outside the country, untill there are about 100 prisoners on strike. Their demands: Abolishment of the isolation, integration for building groups of at least 15 prisoners, so that they can communicate.
- 07.04.77 For support of the hungerstrike the "Commando Ulrike Meinhof" from the RAF shoots the General Prosecutor Buback, who is in charge since 1974. As he was coordinating the anti-guerilla-policy of the FRG he was responsible for the sharpened detention conditions and the murder of a few fighters in jail.
- 30.04.77 Breaking off of the hungerstrike, after a representative of the Ministry of Justice had guaranted the integration of the prisoners in bigger groups.
- 08.05.77 The relations of the prisoners of the 2nd-OF-JUNE address to the public, because the promise, to integrate the prisoners in bigger groups, has not been fulfilled. They denounce the promise to be a diversion, by which the breaking off of the hungerstrike should have been achieved.
- 17.05.77 Siepert and Doemeland are being condemned to 4 1/2 and one year because of "supporting the 2nd-OF-JUNE".
- 21.05.77 Fritzscho, Meyer, Teufel, Klöpper, Reinders, Vogel, Dreher, Kröcher and Adomeit are being tortured by the bruisers of a special-commando (SEK) of the Berlin police, when they had a forced confrontation, where they should be identified by some witnesses.
- June 77 The 2nd-OF-JUNE publishes a comment on Hans-Joachim Klein (hurt at the Vienna OPEC-action), who had declared in a letter to the magazine 'Spiegel' and to a "left" Frankfurt newspaper ('Pflasterstrand') that he would cease with armed struggle. With his letter, Klein had heavily denounced the urban guerilla and had supplied the

psychological warfare with new ammunition. Together with the letter he sent his gun to the 'Spiegel'. The detailed comment runs as follows:

"...Nobody than Klein himself knows better, how long and with how much thoroughness we have tried to discover, what he is really wanting. But the precondition of a revolutionary character is honesty and collectivity. Klein is deeply unable for both. (...)

Klein has used the guerilla for his personal prestige, his image, his morbid playing the hero. As long as he thought it possible for himself, he called himself a comrade, now he continues the exploitation as an anti-guerilla-specialist, who produces fodder for the cannons of the psychological warfare against us. (...)

The real conflicts inside the armed left are visible for anybody, who tries to know them seriously. They are visible with the existence of different armed groups and their actions. The dialectics of fighting and learning, the determination for the revolution of each comrade who is fighting in the guerilla, the necessity to become undestroyable, is going to unravel the contradictions among the groups and is going to unify the fight. That and nothing else is the logic of the guerilla. Contradictions have to be discussed and unravelled. Treason is a crime against the revolutionary forces and is dealt with as such a crime.

Long live the anti-imperialist guerilla!

2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT"

- 20.12.77 Following a gunfight with customs officials at the Swiss-French frontier, Gabi Kröcher-Tiedemann and Christian Möller are being arrested.
- 13.01.78 In the official rooms of the assistant chief public prosecutor at the Bern Supreme Court a hand-grenade explodes and causes a heavy damage. Some days later a 'KOMMANDO BENNO OHNESORG' declares its responsibility and announces further attempts in case of the extradition of Gabi and Christian.
- 10.03.78 Gabi and Christian begin an unlimited hungerstrike. They demand the cancellation of the isolation torture and a treatment, which answers the European Convention of Human Rights and the minimum guarantees of the Geneva Convention of 1949 and its additional protocols of 1977. They sign as "the prisoners from the 2nd-OF-JUNE-MOVEMENT in Bern".
- april 78 Swiss police commanders are being instructed by German anti-guerilla-specialists in a seminar for many days in Bern. BKA-chief Herold and GSG-9 - chief Wegener participate. The course is being terminated with different practical exercises, for example the raid on a train, where in hostages for the release of Gabi Kröcher-Tiedemann and Christian Möller are being held. The seminar follows to a secret meeting 10 days before, when the ministers of the FRG, Switzerland, Italy and Austria, who are responsible for security, had met at an unknown place in Switzerland.
- april 78 Just before the beginning of the 'Lorenz/Drenkmann-trial', in Berlin-Kreuzberg, a workers' district, there turn up forgeries of the advertising pamphlets "AZ - Kreuzberger Echo". For once the paper has no advertisements, but informations about the 2nd-OF-JUNE and the coming trial.

10.04.78 Reinders, Teufel and Fritzsche send for their advocates, who had been assigned to them by state security court in a compulsory way, and beat them up to explain to them, that they want to have nothing to do with them.

11.04.78 In Westberlin starts the so-called 'Lorenz/Drenkmann-trial'. Presiding judge is just Geus, who had discharged the murder of Benno Ohnesorg, the policeman Kurras, years ago. The day before beaten forced advocates apply for getting rid of the duty.

may 78 On the 12th day fixed for trial the advocate Schöndienst demands the stay of proceedings, as a fair trial corresponding to the Convention of Human Rights is not possible. He remembers, that in may 77 the six prisoners had been tortured at a confrontation with witnesses.

27.05.78 Till Meyer is being freed by two armed women, who had pretended to be advocates, out of the Moabit-jail. The as well planned liberation of Andreas Vogel fails. A headie is being shot in the leg at the maingate. The search remains without success.

29.05.78 Heavily armed pigs raid the bureau of the advocate of Gerald Klöpper, Lohstötter, and arrest her. The next day she is being released, after the press had reported one "arrest in the case Meyer" in advance.

may 78 In the Turin trial against the Brigade Rosse (Red Brigades) on the 40th day fixed for trial Pietro Bertolazzi calls a protest-action, which had been carried out on may the 27/28th in the Turin-jail, to be part of the plan to "undermine the prison-system". He says that the violent protest, which three prisoners had carried through, was a parallel-action to the liberation of Till Meyer. That the trial of strength, which now was happening inside and outside the prisons, would end in a disaster for the (Italian) system, as it was happening in Westgermany all the time.

30.05.78 In Berlin further proceedings because of supporting begins against Gisela Kuehl, Susanne Wotschke and Karsten Mocken.

31.05.78 Two forced advocates from the trial against the 2nd-OF-JUNE are being attacked by urbanguerrilla-commandos. The one, Hohla, is being shot in the leg, the pipe-bomb at the car of the other, Krummheuer, is being discovered in advance and is deactivated. The car stood in front of the Berlin police headquarters, while Krummheuer had a talk with the police about his personal safeguard..... With a declaration the REVOLUTIONARY CELLS take the responsibility for the attacks.

01.06.78 Five days after the successful liberation of Till Meyer the magazine 'Stern' (a socialdemocratic paper) publishes a pretended interview with Bommi Baumann under the headlining "Interview in the Underground". The lies and investigations about the 2nd-OF-JUNE and the RAF, which he spread with his book and former newspaper-articles, are published here once more. The article continues with the publication of an alleged "cassiber of a RAF - prisoner", headlined "The Terrorists are disunited".

12.06.78 After 6 months of isolation detention Gabi Kröcher-Tiedemann and Christian Möller once more enter a hungerstrike.

21.06.78 Heavily armed pigs from a FRG - specialcommando kidnap

Till Meyer in Varna on the coast of the Black Sea together with Gabriele Rollnick, Gudrun Stürmer and Angelika Gode. Another specialcommando, who had been masked as tourists, had tracked them down. The Bulgarian authorities shut their eyes. In hired cars the four are being brought to a holiday bungalow and then have to wait there, lying on the floor till midnight. In a VW-bus with a German number they are being brought to the next airport without any intervention of the Bulgarian authorities. There they are reloaded into a ready to take off Lufthansa-plane, where about thirty other German BKA-pigs receive them.

30.06.78 In Switzerland Gabi Kröcher-Tiedemann and Christian Möller are being condemned to 15 and to 11 years of penitentiary because of attempted murder of a Swiss customer official. The judgement is pronounced in absence of the prisoners and their advocates.

03.07.78 The Berlin Senator of Justice Baumann resigns because of the liberation action for Till Meyer.

14.07.78 Pipe-bombing with heavy damage on the Bern Official House, a court-building beside the prison, where Gabi and Christian are imprisoned.

16.07.78 A 'Commando 20th of December' own up to the attack. In their declaration they say, the attack "was made to protest against the murderous conditions of detention and the terror-judgement against Gabi Kröcher-Tiedemann and Christian Möller.

The fight is going on...

Statement for "TUNIX", a meeting of new left-groups in Westberlin, Jan. 78

The thousandfold fear is in a thousand ways guarded

The thousandfold trouble is in a thousand ways laughed at

the thousandfold fire is in a thousand ways provoked

The meeting in TUNIX: (tunix=do nothing)

We think it good that now comrades took the initiative to start the longtime overdue discussion. We would think it much better, if at last there could be build a starting point in TUNIX to overcome the total disunion of the left. That doesn't just mean that everybody is painting the same star in the same colour on the same wall. It would already be enough to set out for "TUWAS" (do something) together. We don't claim to be better able to judge - from our "security" in prison - the difficulties, which were arising for fight and resistance during the last years, better than the comrades, who have to face them in the everyday war. But all the same we are hoping to be able to contribute a few critical and self-critical remarks to the discussion.

To overcome the disunion

What has to be important for us here and now, if we don't all together want to dig our political common grave, is: to overcome the disunion, after all to glance over the horizon of our mini-groups again. While the leftists in this country set right one another's brains, the rightists are assembling. The last unparalleled offensive of the reaction wasn't at least possible because of the hopeless and nonsensical working one against the other, practised by the hundreds of little groups. Not only the concessions of the struggle of the youth's-and student's rebellion have been cancelled without compensation, but the state's machinery could so much be extended without resistance and could build up the complete controle over all ranges of life, as it wasn't more totally possible even during the Hitler-fascism. It should not tarnish our eyes that nowadays methods show more differences, that the excessive brutality of that time still has not been reached in the direct confrontation.

the only reason for the situation now is, that the state does not need it because of the weakness of the left. The disunited, resigned and/or blindly enamoured to dogmatism left is not able at the moment, to threaten the capitalist order.

The disunionating of the left to a lot of groups made it easy as hell for the ruling class, to isolate them, to paralyze the danger and attraction of the revolt of the street.

Above all isolated from one another, narrow-minded following to the pretendedly found "only-true-way", wearing out itself with stiff competition against the swerving comrades round the corner, the whole anti-imperialist opposition has ended in a dead-road.

The alternatives:

Some people who believed in having gained by force a sort of free space for themselves began full of enthusiasm to fill it with alternative projects. In the euphoria of the seeming victory they overlooked the fact, that it is impossible to leave the connections and the conditions of the society without changing the conditions themselves. Instead of building the basis for the next steps with the projects, the basis for the extension of their struggle, in fact: showing clearly that it is necessary to carry through their own interests, if one doesn't want to fulfill the interests of the ruling class, - instead of that, their only occupation was to proof the superiority of their work. Following a sense of justification they made one compromise after the other, only to save the project until there existed only a caricature of the original project. What they thought to be an alternative against society, finished to be an alternative against the struggle. The sense of resistance wasted away to be the moral of the welfare workers. The compromises concerning the facts totalled up to a compromising for the consciousness. That was the way most of the projects were doing. And the little rest was or is disciplined or smashed with other methods.

The march through the institutions:

And where are those who were marching through the institutions? They adapted themselves or were fired. Only the marching people have changed, the apparatus serves for the reaction as before. That was only likely to foresee. As someone, who wants to reach the control button of the institution from the inside, has first of all to fulfill the tasks of the apparatus, - and he has to fulfill them much better than the other people. That means: to adapt better than others to the functions of the apparatus - that is to say, to defend the order of the ruling class. Who is able to reach the control button, first of all did fulfill this functions. Those comrades believe the state to be a technical thing that can be functionalized for everybody and everything, a sort of neutral community, the frame of which class struggles can unfold undisturbed and positions of power can be filled out at will, a running match, where it is only important to be first at the goal.

The comrades overlook the fact that the state is an instrument with certain specific functions. It is just the function of the bourgeois state to defend and maintain the capitalist social order. And for the realization of just these functions the methods are organized.

Even if nowadays powerless people should succeed in gaining the power, the instruments are useless for them - if they are not only interested in the change of roles. Concerning a fundamental change of the society, a powerful human order, this state does not help us at all. It is in the way.

The loved contradictions:

Naturally this is very summary. And it is not at all the fact that each comrade, who struggled for an alternative project or wanted to carry the fight into the institutions, has been compromised. There are enough of examples where it did not happen. But those comrades are not any longer in the institutions.

We don't say that it is a fault to try - as a teacher or a welfare worker inside the school or inside a youth center - to create a consciousness for the own interests, to show to the young people the connections of their damned bad situation, to propagate the resistance as the alternative to

to adaption and self-abandoning. We say that the contradiction between charged function and consequent revolutionary work leads to a point, where one loses oneself in reformism with all this tactic, if one does not want to take too the personal consequences.

To be consequent means in this context, to break through the legality, not any longer to fulfill the charged functions, but to sabotage. It becomes especially clear with the example of the prison. Who believes, that revolutionary work can be consistent with the job of a jailer, is - in the best of all ways - ridiculous. He closes the cell-doors like everybody else. To take the consequences would mean to open the cell-doors and never lock them again. Anything else is nothing more than a masking of the brutality, a reformist tactic of avoiding the conflicts. Revolutionary work has nothing in common with the punctual overcoming of the conflicts but with sabotage against the functions of control. Only that way we can understand the "marching through the institutions" as a revolutionary policy.

Abolishing the state - not reforming it:

Critically we have to discuss as well with the advocates of another position which became important especially in the militant and armed groups: the fixing on the state as the apparently only basic evil, that has only to be abolished, and the new socialist order is without any hitch.

Those comrades close their eyes in view of the fact that the bourgeois state is not the cause of the social conditions but their result. And not their only result. The fact that the so often quoted masses are disposed for the subordination is not only based on the power of the state apparatus. The strong power of disinformation by the mass-medias, by school and by fascist mass-literature

the manipulation by the control of advocate-organisations as the labour-unions and the so-called "mass-parties"

the ideologically bewildering games and the offer of fucking alternatives, aimed to divert from annoyance and aggressions

and especially the social threat of unemployment, "berufsverbots" and deporting of foreign colleagues

they are means of power, which we must not underestimate. On one side the project of smashing the state cannot alone be a social revolution, as it does not mean, that the colonized consciousness of the masses is smashed. On the other side - or better: therefore - this isolated project is bound to fail from the beginning, because we have to be a few more for such a thing. And certainly we will never be more people, if we ignore ignorantly the starting points which the social misery of the people and their uncertainty presents, instead of intervening and hastening the general confrontation.

We do not want to speak for mass-opportunism at all. If ten people are saying, the sky is a banana, and one says: no, the sky is not a banana, it doesn't mean, that the majority is right. We must not say: the consciousness of the masses is still underdeveloped, but we have to ask ourselves, how to break open this consciousness piece by piece.

Our isolation among the people:

At this point we, too, from the guerilla have to ask ourselves, how far we have a joint guilt ourselves, concerning our isolation.

Leaving out the - unfortunately far too few - actions, for example against Außen, MAN, BVG, § 218, most of the comrades dropped the policy of the armed intervention and now try their strength in a pure militant conflict with the state apparatus. So we accepted the assigned-political ghetto, instead of breaking out of it.

Certainly the missing public discussion with the other fractions of the left contributed to that. Fearing that the state could use it for the psychological warfare and against us, criticism was pushed aside and declared police propaganda.

We were fixed on identifying the left with people like Cohn-Bendit, Socialist Bureau, or the Long March, who publicly called the denunciation of the comrades or, as in Frankfurt, did at once the work of the police by making "lists of sympathisants". There won't be any discussion further on with this auxiliary police on that level.

Criticism to the RAF-conception:

We regard it a sort of resignation, the turn towards a new "anti-imperialist conception" of the armed groups.

The comrades say that, because of the corruption of the masses in the metropole FRG, a wide development of the proletarian anti-power is impossible, that the building up of a social resistance movement is hopeless. Because of the fact that the people of the 3rd world are the strongest suppressed, they are thinking, that only these people can build the basis of a world-wide revolutionary struggle. They don't see anything more in the FRG than a military operation basis and direct their policy that way. We cannot adopt this position in this way.

Certainly the practised solidarity with the people of the 3rd world and their struggle for liberation must be an important part of our struggle. But the best and most effective solidarity with the people is the building up of a strong revolutionary resistance movement right here, which makes it impossible for the capitalist state to realize its imperialist interests. It is fatalism to take the nowadays weakness of the revolutionary side for granted and not changeable. The intensifying crisis of capitalism exposes an always enlarging potential on all levels, which we have to concentrate on. The comment of Schmidt leaves no doubt, when he says that "one has to destroy the basis of terrorism, if not tomorrow the army of young unemployed shall slide off and join them", or if Kohl states that they "have lost, if terrorism cannot be completely battered during the next five years". And the massive arming of the state apparatus does not happen at all because of the nowadays weak - and both economically and militarily still most ineffective - guerilla. Even if there are still leftists spreading this nonsense.

Naturally we won't convince nobody of the necessity of the revolutionary policy, if this policy is directed against himself. We all dissociated ourselves from the fascist bombs in the central stations of Bremen, Hamburg and Köln. We all and always said, that the actions and the policy of the guerilla is never directed against the people, but always against the ruling class.

But: who is it, who is actually sitting in the holiday-plane of the cheapest-route towards Mallorca?!

The people and the guerilla:

The comrade Werner Sauber wrote the following passage in an analysis to the "anti-imperialist conception":

"The comrades don't accept a practical conflict concerning the connection of the armed struggle with the militant proletarians. Instead the comrades are setting up for "revolutionary special service troops", which see their only basis in the liberation movements of the 3rd world and to struggle from this basis against the metropolises. But now the comrades are neither fish in the water nor birds in the sky. They only work together with suppressed side-groups or the leftists to gain fresh forces for the anti-imperialist struggle, but not, to strengthen the suppressed class-struggles in the metropolises themselves.

.....
Struggle must come from the daily behaviour of resistance, the helpful way, by which working people live more or less badly under the capitalist state of siege. Only starting with this daily situation any sort of resistance can become concrete. If it attacks instead only the imperialist superstructure without being anchored in the factories and the districts, the capitalist state can surround and exterminate it without great difficulties and with pure police-tactical methods.

The final result is, that one is working to build up a Red Army, which is in the first place a sort of isolated skeleton. The bombs, this Red Army is throwing, it hopes to throw into the consciousness of the masses. The revolutionary force is reduced to enlightenment. It does not emerge from the class-experience in the battles and the oppression, and therefore does not become a mean of the anti-power. The result is a sympathising attitude of spectator as long as the chased people are not caught, a helpless passivity concerning the conflict

* leader of the Christ democrats

between the terror of the state and the anti-imperialist struggle of the comrades.¹
the whole this estimating is still valid nowadays.
is certainly problematic to speak generally about the "working people" nowadays, who are "living more or less badly under the capitalist state of ego". The development towards bourgeois of a great part of the working people because of their social climbing remains as neglected as, on the other side, the specific situation of the women, the working-emigrants; the employees and youths.

the daily resistance-behaviour:

a central point is that the struggle can and has to develop and come out the daily resistance-behaviour. The ranges, where this is happening and in the ranges bound people cannot be described any longer with the terms of the traditional class terms. That becomes most obvious with the militant starting in the anti-AKW-movement², where we can find everybody, the farmer as well as the university teacher.

developing the struggle out of the daily resistance means for example also: destroy a police quarter or a city hall out of a demonstration, if an occupied building like the fire station is being evacuated and pulled down, set fire on Springer's vending machines and delivery vans, if our printers are arrested,

organize steal-ins in the big magazines, if the prices of the food are so high rising (do not forget the cash-box), understand KOB's³ to the slip and to fasten them to a lamp post, if they are sniffing about too much (it is also possible to beat the daylight out of them),

to redecorate the consultation-room of such a pig of gynaecologist or to fill it with the butcher's rubbish.

there are more than enough starting points and no limits to your inventive-ness!

a practised international solidarity is best proved, if the factories are burning, which supply the Iran with weapons or South Africa with AKWs.

equality - who's legality?

naturally this is the point where the other side once more puts the question of violence, legality and illegality.

legality, that is everything that is not dangerous for the ruling order. Who wants to abolish the capitalist order over the human beings and especially who acts that way: he is illegal. That not each "changer of the system" is at once locked in jail, does not mean, that there exists a possibility equally to tear down the ruling people from their pedestals. The "still-act-illegalisation" can mean that it is more practical at the moment for the state, because it is easier to control legal groups, or, that their actions have no relevance, or, that the open illegalisation does more damage than good, or, the sum of it all.

equality is not a fixed term, legality is a question of power. During the Hitler-fascism there were made laws for everything. What was happening, was happening in the frame of that legality. Today it is the same thing. Who always observes the frame of legality, observes some time the equality of fascism. Sure, we are not those who decide what is legal in this state.

the Info-Bug⁴ for example:

let us take the Info-Bug for example. An organ is criminalized, in which no discussions and the positions of the undogmatic left are published. The Info-maker now has two alternatives:

on one hand some people make a so-called conspiracy-info, that fulfills the function - for all of us so important - further on; the "makers" can clearly evaluate their risk, which is - as could be seen for example with the printers - not very much higher than in the old conception.

on the other hand some people make a BUG with people, responsible as defined by the press-law, who because of the danger for themselves, must be interested in a self-censorship.

¹ no-makers ² Springer = Heist ³ community police men ⁴ left newspaper

while some people adapted to the changed conditions, others left their position deliberately. The funny point is that just the representatives of the legal alternative say, that they are those who maintain the positions.⁵ we do not say that the legal possibilities for the struggle have not to be used or even be neglected. But: that the existing order is not building the frame of our struggle, but the aim, the revolution is. Legality does not define our activities, but our tactic in the frame of the revolutionary strategy does.

Concerning the question of violence:

The question of violence is in fact unnecessary. The daily lecture of any newspaper shows, where the violence is coming from. We cannot prevent nobody from presenting the left cheek, if he has been beaten on the right cheek. But everybody should have, till now, lost the illusion, that he then has got his part for ever.

We, that is to say, all those who don't be or don't want to be any longer pocketed by this state, must learn to realize, that we cannot do without the armed revolutionary groups, for the forcing of our necessities and our interests, in view of a state, which is armed to the teeth. We must realize today that we cannot avoid a violent conflict with the state. That must be realized as a political necessity but not as a fetish.

How do we get on?

"The movement itself, without the connexion to the last aim, the movement as an end in itself is nothing to us, the last aim is everything to us." (Rosa Luxemburg)

There is no possibility to squeeze by one another, and why should we try? If we want to get on, we will be forced finally to find the point, where the resistance cannot be divided from the resistance, where the comrades do not any longer believe in dividing sorts of resistance from others.. we should realize that we do not only have a mutual profit from the many-layeredness of the conflict, but that we are also dependent from one another. Only the struggle without compromise on all levels leads, where we will be a "big family", where the distances - at least inside the undogmatic fraction, left babbitts, thinking in terms of competition and rivalries are overcome.

And that is obvious: on the way to the beach we have to crack the pavements over our own brains.

For the offensive struggle in all reaches of life

For the organizing of the total resistance - here and now

For a more revolutionary guerilla movement

RGO Revolutionary Guerilla Opposition from the bankrupt's estate of the 2nd of June Movement

For those, who think names important: Spontius Bär, Rowdy Rebell, Satan der Weiße and Tarzan Stepke! all from the jail in Moabit

I'll just tell you something about the action on Saturday:

The action was grand. It is the expression of the force, the continuity, and the solidarity of the 2nd-of-june-movement. It practically contradicts the lies about us and pushes forward our struggle.

Sure- the action did not achieve its practical aim - to free two locked-up guerillas out of the claws of the state security justice, and to re-integrate the armed struggle. But the directed nonsense, Baumann's telling about the action, is only ridiculous. He tries desperately to veil the triumph of this action, of the urban guerilla and of our policy, and to turn round to a success the defeat of the state. There is no possibility to be more foolish. And naturally it can't even work because the facts speak a precise language.

That only one instead of two prisoners got out, did only happen because of the still existing scruples - in spite of the cool-headed murder of 8 prisoners from the guerilla - to give a subordinate beadle what he deserves in such a situation: to prevent him offensively from exposing for the state security interests. We know what to learn by that!

The action is a victory of the armed struggle. The political aim of the attack has been reached: The state forces suffered a defeat and the arrogance of the political control of the westgerman imperialism was penalized. An arrogance which sticks at nothing, which intervenes in the states of the 3rd world openly militarily, and which forces western Europe under the supremacy of the US-american/ westgerman capitalism. And, to achieve that, tries to destroy preventively the revolutionary movement inside and outside the country. The german "wanted"-circulars, which a resistance-fighter never wanted to see again fixed on the walls of France, stick by now everywhere in Europe; the governments of the west-european states are taught the control of the guerilla by permanently stationed westgerman BKA-specialists; the Bonn-Government decides about the internal policy of these countries. Schmidt explains it this way: "For us a european foreign policy is not existing, but only an internal policy of Europe!"

The state forces suffered a defeat where they totally dominated the ground. In one of their fortresses, where the power and the control system is concentrated and shows its barest manifestation: murder/ torture/ isolation/ state of hostage.

The action shows that there is no ground we don't know to fight on. that it really does not exist: the supremacy of the imperialism and its forces, which makes any resistance impossible. Even the fascism, the total encirclement and observation of the people, is just a fight-condition for the resistance.

To attack the prison, to enter and to free arrested guerillas, means to pose the question of power on the hostile ground and to decide it; to confront the power and the brutality of the system with the solidarity and the revolutionary force of the anti-imperialist movement.

And all that did happen, after the state murdered four prisoners to make a liberation impossible, after it uses the prisoners as hostages to put the squeeze on the guerilla outside, after it legalizes this state of hostage as obstruction of contact and uses it furtheron after the official stop in another modification. That is to say, after Schleyer, Mogadishou, Stammheim and Stadelheim, where Schmidt calculated and ordered the massacre being the leader of the crisis-management - where our pain was his triumph -

* Senator of Justice #2 Federal Criminal Office

- 17 -

and Schmidt believed, that the problem had been solved that we prisoners from the guerilla certainly are for this state, because we don't cease to think and to fight. That is to say: as long as we are not all of us murdered in prison, there will be the fight of the prisoners and the fight for the prisoners.

They succeed lesser and lesser in screening the state of war inside and outside as the maintained state of normality. The crises of the system comes forward, because its existence is in danger: The mobilisation of all the repressive forces against the revolutionary left, the streamlining of all the medias by the centrally directed psychological warfare, the liquidation of the smallest traces of a fundamental opposition organizing outside the guerilla - that shows, that only the illegality of the armed struggle can be an offensive position for the revolutionary policy -, the fortresses of the police, the special courts, the combing of whole districts, the screening and registering of the whole population with the computers of the intelligence services, special laws, aimed death shots - that is just a tiny part of the instruments.

The governing Social-Democratic-Party with the technocratist Schmidt and the CIA-agent Brandt on top did accept the anti-imperialist war, which is fought all over the world, which we fight here against the FRG as a state of the multitis, as a metropole of imperialism, they accepted the war and they reacted in a way that the character of imperialism implies: with terror!

The situation in this country resembled the situation after a riot: panic, cold rage, resignation. The action was breaking through. It poses the question of power and decides it for the revolutionary movement. The action encourages, it shows the possibilities for armed fighting here and now, and by its implications and its contents the action gives the orientation and the perspective.

The action speaks for itself and mediates itself.

For sure the action is in connection with this trial. The trial the subject and the bottom. The action is the continuity of what is the main theme here: the liberation of prisoners - revolutionary policy. It destroys the attempt of the Federal-Attorney-Office and of the Court to empty this trial of all policy, by smashing the political defense, by appointing illegal judges and forced advocates - the attempt to cope with revolutionary policy by making a judicial trial.

The liberation of prisoners is the contents of these trials and the matter of this action. It is an exemplary action of the urban guerilla. There are all the elements of our actions: attack and method, aim and contents, mediation and continuity; to attack a militarily superior state with weak revolutionary forces, to give it a defeat, to disturb the union of the fractions of the government and to sharpen the contradictions - and to negative the discouragement and the resignation of the people by practice -, we confront the integrated policy among the ruling forces with the consequent and successful alternative of the organized armed struggle. The action is the best example of a revolutionary action, also because the liberation of prisoners is a matter of the anti-imperialist struggle on the whole. Liberation by and with the armed struggle, against the prison system of profit/ power/ brutality/ imperialism. It is the method for the liberation of mankind.

West-Berlin, 30.5.1978

Andreas - Th. Vogel
Prisoner of the 2nd-of-june-movement

- 18 -